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AUTHOR Nwankwo, Robert L.
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ABSTRACT

Defining political culture as a fundamental, culturally important value system that forms a context in which media content judgments and other professional behaviors can be described or evaluated in a meaningful way, this paper analyses two minority press systems as they relate to their political culture contexts. The two systems are the black American press, which represents the minority press of the industrialized pluralistic society, and the black African press, which represents the third world press as a minority in the context of the international community. The paper argues that the professionalism of a press system should be defined and evaluated in the context of its political culture objectives, functions, and clientele. It then presents content analyses and survey data to show that both the black American and the black African press systems perform important identity, leadership, informational, and organizational functions for their audiences. The paper concludes that, industrial and economic problems notwithstanding, minority press systems are not necessarily examples of professional underdevelopment in journalism, but rather that they may be the epitome of the highest ideals of journalism.
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POLITICAL CULTURE OR PROFESSIONAL UNDERDEVELOPMENT?: IDENTITY AND LEADERSHIP AMONG AFRO-AMERICAN AND AFRICAN PRESS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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by

Robert L. Nwankwo

University of Rhode Island

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Robert L. Nwankwo

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

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INTRODUCTION

The relationship between Africa and African America goes beyond the obvious physical affinity. The ideational and, perhaps, more important aspects of the relationship have strong roots and have been manifested in the exuberant populism of the Marcus Garveys, the scholarly cultivation of the duBois, and in the ambitious though quite realistic, Pan-African congresses.[1]

There has always been some cross-fertilization of ideas and skills. The impetus for African nationalism, for instance, started in the Americas and subsequently shifted to the African continent. Similarly, the beginnings of the African press were the handiwork of "Black Victorians" whose roots and orientation were American. The realization that Black accomplishment must be universalistic--that Black Americans, for example, should 'make it' in America--has not diminished the African and African American ideational and identity bonds; it has rather increased them.[2]

Research scholars interested in the role of communication in human and national development have not lost sight of other bonds and parallels among Africans and African Americans. Subject to severe charges of cultural imperialism and ideological bias, this tradition of research has, nevertheless, compiled an impressive list of underdevelopment attributes which Black

Americans share with Africa and the third world.[3] What is, perhaps, the most specific synthesis of the communication and development research as it applies to Africans and African Americans concluded that it has

> "demonstrated that the communication networks of Africans and Afro-Americans are constricted and within those networks, blacks occupy peripheral positions. Coupled with special cognitive and linguistic handicaps, these facts erest obstinate barriers to reforms in the distribution and reciprocity of power."[4]

It has been suggested, however, that the important questions about communication and social change may be those that identify structural barriers that are properties of the socio-political system rather than those that inquire into specific agents of change in individual behaviors.[5] A parallel suggestion is one that sees more significance in the study of how societies process information rather than the study of what content through what channels will produce what effects on what audiences.[6]

If researchers study the ways in which a society (or sub-culture) processes information and if they identify the structural barriers in the relations of, say, media professionals and political leaders on one hand and the public on the other, then they would, more fruitfully, be analyzing mass media processes in their proper political culture context. This mode

of analysis would be more fruitful because the professional behaviors and professional attitudes of African or Afro-American journalists, or whatever is the subject of analysis, would be studied as a part of the dynamics of a society or community and not merely evaluated on a set of exogamous and usually value-laden criteria that simply measure how far removed these journalists are from civilization.

The above statement assumes that the primary scientific aim of the comparative study of communication systems is a better understanding of the process of communication and that the primary practical aim is to increase the effectiveness of communication. Ethical or value judgments about system goals and functional priorities are important and can, of course, be made but even these, should be made with the clear understanding that "culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed: it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly described"[7]; or, one may say, within which professional judgments can be meaningfully be understood or interpreted.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND THE MASS MEDIA

In this sense, political culture is defined as a constellation of fundamental and significant values which form

the context for political and social behavior. The four dimensions of political culture--identify, rule, symbol and belief systems--are seen respectively as the contexts for community identity and support for basic political agreements, political artifacts, and political principles and goals.[8]

In societies in which the "authoritative allocation of values" is part of the political culture, professional content judgments by media personnel may be considered part of the value allocation process, as Chaffee has suggested.[9] Journalists may respond to external constraints including audience demands or to self-imposed role conceptions in deciding what kinds of content to carry.

Even in the United States, where libertarian freedom of the press is part of the traditional political culture, the laissez-faire approach to press freedom is giving way, in the face of technological and industrial changes, to forms of control that involve sensitivity to "professional responsibility" and to an increasing number of government laws and regulations. These, in addition to the need of the media institution to make money while informing, leading, educating, and entertaining the public, determine news/content values and become the context in which professional judgments are made. The public, and,

therefore, national values and priorities are always vital considerations in professional judgments including decisions to emphasize some institutional functions over others.

A media system or parts of it may, at a particular period, give special emphasis to one or more of the institutional functions of information, persuasion/leadership, education/instruction, and entertainment. But some important points need to be made here. First, political socialization research, particularly its media agenda-setting tradition, has provided empirical evidence to show that a strong positive relationship exists between the emphases of media coverage and the salience of issues in the minds of the public. Thus the journalist does not have to make explicit persuasive efforts in order to play a persuasive leadership role. He can persuade by merely emphasizing the information transmittal function in the treatment of certain issues.[10] Thus, because the functions of the mass media (or, one may say, media content influences on audience cognitions) are not mutually exclusive, media effects are not always as intended by the journalist.

Yet journalists who regard themselves as professionally developed say they are committed to serving the public interest by emphasizing the public enlightenment functions of information, education, and persuasion. They also demand that media content designed to serve persuasive leadership purposes--that is,

editorials, commentaries, etc. -- be clearly separated from content intended to serve informational and educational leadership purposes. The basic point, however, is that sound, effective, professional leadership, of whatever kind, is/should be exercised in the context of the political culture which determines the patterns of relationships among the political, economic and socio-cultural leaders, the mass public and the mass media.

This is not to say that journalists should take a fatalistic stance towards whatever prevailing political culture in which they find themselves but the fact remains that the mass media operate largely as a transmitter or broker of power, values, and information between the leaders of the society/community and the masses. Where there is a consensus among journalists, leaders, and the public on the kind of role the mass media should play, it becomes unimportant whether professional direction is external or self-generated. Where there is cleavage, journalists usually act in ways that maximize their own status and tend towards self-preservation. Thus, in the United States although journalists who emphasize public-entertainment and money-making are often regarded as non-professionals who serve self interests, much of the public information disseminated by professional journalists is aimed at serving commercial or political interests rather than genuine public interests.[11]

The main point here is that the political culture determines whether the media perform a primarily transmission or a primarily brokerage function and, therefore, that evaluations of professional behaviors and decisions should be made in context and be separated from the evaluations of the political culture itself, and for that matter, from questions of the scope or reach of the mass media as channels of public communication.

LEADERSHIP AMONG THE BLACK AMERICAN AND AFRICAN PRESS

The logic above seems to be recognized by communication scholars who discuss such press systems as that of the Soviet Union but rarely recognized by scholars who discuss Afro-American, African, and other "third world" press systems. One finds, for instance, that the fusion of the Soviet press and political leadership is often megatively criticized by Western writers but usually without references to Soviet journalists as underdeveloped professionals. Most of the blame seems to go to the Soviet political culture.[12]

Third world press systems certainly have some common attributes which they share with some minority press systems of the more industrially developed countries.[13] The Afro-American and African communication systems, for instance, may, indeed, share patterns of media use and ownership, information flow

and journalistic stance, as has been suggested.[14] But one has to go beyond the general characterological affinity and look at the different decisional contexts for Black American and Black African journalists.

THE BLACK PRESS

The Afro-American press operates in the general context of the American political culture. One finds, therefore, that Black leaders and journalists alike believe strongly that press freedom is a necessity which should be protected although they tend to think that the mass media should be a public forum which provides access and fair coverage to all segments of the population. The Afro-American press is a part, some would say a victim, of the American business system. And because it is rooted in the American business system, some believe that it "cannot afford and its owners have no inclination to challenge the social and economic order in any drastic, fundamental manner" and, therefore, tends to ignore or misunderstand the link between the troubles of Black people and the way society is organized.[15]

Although the above statement is even much less true today than when it was written, the philosophy of acquiescence to possible assimilation appears to be more pragmatic than either the philosophy of total withdrawal from the system or

of the Black takeover of the country by revolution.[16] Although the life of the Black press is shunted to the side of the American mainstream, it is the American pluralistic political culture which makes its existence possible. Its continued existence depends on its effectiveness in satisfying the needs of its constituency as evidenced by changes in editorial tones which a number of Black publications have been observed to make in order to avert financial difficulties and to accommodate changes in the attitudes of Black Americans[17]

The primary mission of the Afro-American press in the context of the American political culture seems to have been to urge the American system to practice those things which it merely professes, to be "democracy's catalytic agent" according to one Black leader.[18] In attempting to reflect the conscience of democracy, the Black press harps on anti-racism as an important, if not its main, theme. It also attempts to perform other functions which the mainstream press does not or cannot perform adequately: coverage of the Black community, and restoring self pride and dignity among Black people; serving as a "strong and constant voice expressing the will of Black America."[19]

The above suggests that the Black press serves as a leader and as a focus of community identity for its Black audience. This audience is not limited to the Black press, but while one survey found that Black newspapers ranked behind television and metropolitan dailies in their importance for general news for Black newspaper readers[20], my own research indicates that Black audiences identify overwhelmingly with black or black-oriented broadcast programs.[21] It should also be noted that there seems to be more black ownership of newspapers than the broadcast media and, more importantly, that the relation between black ownership and black-oriented content policy appears clearer in newspapers than in broadcasting.[22] It would, therefore, be better to look at newspapers for empirical evidence of the identity, organizational, and leadership functions of the Black press.

A re-analysis of the data from a national multi-stage sample survey of 16 major cities in the U.S. for newspaper readership dynamics in the black community shows that black newspaper readers, indeed, identify with black newspapers. It also shows that these papers serve organizational and leadership functions.[23]

A retabulation of some of the data from the survey shows

TABLES A, B, C ABOUT HERE

that among blacks, education and age are good predictors of black newspaper readership and tnat neither income nor sex makes any significant difference. There are twice as many under 35 readers as there are over 35 readers, with 86 per cent of the readers having attended high school or college (Table A). It may be that education is the important variable here and that age simply reflects the more fundamental factor of social change; that is, that more and younger blacks are getting formal education.

While education seems to be a good predictor of black newspaper readership, it does not seem to have any strong correlation with membership in black organizations since 66 per cent of the black newspaper readers do not belong to any black organizations (Table B). This would seem to indicate that black newspapers are a stronger focus of black identity than the organizations. The 74 per cent of the respondents who mention some aspect of the coverage of the black community as their reason for reading black newspapers would seem to support this proposition (Table C).

From the above, it would appear that the black press performs important information, identity, and leadership functions for the black community and would cease to exist were it to "professionalize" in the manner of the mainstream American press.

AN AFRICAN PRESS

Let us, for comparison, look at the mass media and political culture of Nigeria, a black African, transitional, plural society in which media diversity results more from political structure than from differences in orientations to media ethics. Nigeria is said to have succeeded, more than any other country, in maintaining the elements of a free society even under military rule. This has been attributed to the existence of a diversity of powerful political interests, the Nigerian habit of independent expression of opinion, and the existence of small, independent publications run by trade unions, sectional political groups, and university-based journals of opinion.[24]

The existence in Nigeria of parallel ethnic, regional, religious, and several other cleavages has been well-documented.[25] This circumstance creates a competitive situation in which ethnic groups, regions or states have been so important in national life that governments have difficulty silencing the press and may be forced, like political parties, to start their own publications to present their own case whatever their real feelings about the institution of the press.[26]

Thus, the Nigerian mass media are not only reporting institutions, they are also the instruments of political power, of public discussion of politics, and of political identity.

They are, therefore, part and parcel of the Nigerian political structure and process, their historical development coinciding with and greatly influencing the constitutional and structural development of the country.[27] A few commercial success stories notwithstanding, the political press has, indeed, dominated the Nigerian scene ever since the establishment in the 1920s of the Lagos Daily News, the organ of the Nigerian National Democratic Party.[28] The Nigerian Press was a significant factor in the nationalist movement for political independence and was actively involved in the several political crises that have afflicted the country since independence. The Nigerian press was under party, ethnic-regional, governmental, and ownership pressures, but the most effected influences resulted from prevailing cultural and political values and attitudes. For many Nigerian journalists of the crises period, the sense of professional and public interest coincided with the expressed policies of party and government (see note).

NOTE: Nigeria became constitutionally independent of Britain in 1960, adopted a republican constitution in 1963, came under the control of the military in 1966, experienced a harrowing civil war from 1967 to 1970, and is now working towards a multi-state constitution. The crises and conflicts that led to the civil war were constant and serious and saw the big Eastern, Western and Northern regions pitted in uneasy and shifting alliances. The Eastern Region was dominated numerically by the Ibos and politically by the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and the West by the Younbas and the Action Group (AG). The NCNC and the NPC had allied to form the federal government at independence, leaving

In order to gain an insight into the political sensitivity of the Nigerian press and, therefore, the kind of role it plays, we would present an analysis of the coverage by selected Nigerian newspapers of very important commission reports published on New Year's Day, 1963 (see note below for the description of the circumstances of the commission).

Each of the four newspapers selected for analysis had some special relationship to one of the major Nigerian political parties and was a major regional or national publication. The West African Pilot was published in Lagos and supported the NCNC although it was the private property of the founder of the party. The Nigerian Outlook was published in Enugu by the Eastern Nigerian Information Service corporation and supported the NCNC. The Nigerian Citizen (later renamed New Nigerian) was published in Zaria by the Gaskiya corporation of Northern Nigeria and supported the NPC. The Daily Express was published in Lagos by the Allied Newspapers, Ltd., the communcations arm of the Action Group.

The Nigerian Outlook and the Nigerian Citizen had their core audience in the Eastn and Northern regions

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the Action Group in the opposition. The maneuvering which began immediately after independence had led to the carving out of the part of the Western Region dominated by the NCNC into a separate region and to the setting up of commissions of inquiry into the relationship between the Action Group and a Nigerian bank. An organizational split in the Action Group caused an administrative crisis in Western Nigeria and allowed the federal government to declare a state of emergency in the region and to dismiss the

respectively, although they were available in other parts of the country. The Daily Express and The Pilot strove for a national audience but their readership was very much determined by party allegiance.

Readership of newspapers in Nigeria is small compared, for instance, to readership in the U.S., but the Nigerian newspaper reader seems to be more politically significant as an opinion reader.[30] This, and the allegiance factor, would make Nigerian readers more sensitive to the nuances of content emphasis by newspapers than U. S. readers. One would conclude, therefore, that the agenda-setting research finding that the front page content of a newspaper is much more salient to the audience than the content of inside pages would even be more applicable to Nigerian readers.[31]

It was, therefore, decided that the analysis of a week's front page coverage of the Coker Report by the selected papers would be an adequate means of getting an empirical insight

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Western Region legislature. A commission (The Coker Commission) was set up to inquire into the finances of the Action Group and resulted in the closing of many of its newspapers. It found that the Action Group dominated the economic life of Western Nigeria and that vast sums of public money were diverted for party use. It strongly blamed the leader of the Action Group along with his closest associates but exonorated the deputy leader who was then in favor with both the NCNC and the NPC. It also made recommendations for prosecuting many of the Action Group leaders. The commission report was indeed a big political happening, one of the crucial events that started the Nigerian drift to the civil war.[29]

into the effectiveness of the Nigerian press in transmitting the agenda of political issues. Also, because the Report was almost totally negative, the amount of space allocated to it by each newspaper was considered a good indication of the attention (and negative view of the Action Group) that the newspaper wants its readers to give to it. And, in order to put the Coker coverage in perspective, it seemed necessary to study the entire front page content of the newspapers.[32]

The analysis itself was simple and the categories so obvious that no reliability test was called for. It required the identification of the geographical location of the content event and whether or not the content subject is the Coker Report, or any other explicitly political issue.

The results are presented in Tables I through V.

TABLES I TO V ABOUT HERE

The attention pattern represented by figures in Table I is, perhaps, surprising for three reasons -- the little attention paid to the northern region even by the national papers, the total lack of attention to the two southern regions by the Nigerian Citizen, and the emphasis given by the same paper to international items.

Tables II through IV show that politics is, by far, the most important concern of the papers. Table II shows that the hottest political items during the period came from the Western region. This applies to all the papers except the Nigerian Citizen. Table IV shows that a very significant proportion of the items dealt with the Coker Report.

Table III points out some peculiarities of coverage of the Coker Report: The Nigerian Oullook paid inconsistently heavy attention to the Report and a close look at the items covered suggests that the paper gave heavy emphasis to aspects of the report most damaging to the Action Group. The Daily Express on the other hand, apparently tried to make the best of a bad situation, giving the report more balanced coverage than the other papers, although it did de-emphasize the more bizarre aspects. The contrast with the Nigerian Outlook is evident in the fifth day coverage. The West African Pilot paid more overall attention to the Report than any of the other papers.

Table V places the Coker and other political items in the context of other subjects covered by the papers. It shows that education, crime/violence, and adventure/entertainment were the only other subjects given notable attention by any of the papers. One can even suggest that the high attention

given by the Express to adventure/entertainment served as a distraction from the Coker troubles.

One inescapable conclusion from the above is that the Nigerian press places great emphasis on political leadership. It also tends to serve the sectional and identity interests of its audiences while providing them with valuable public affairs information.

CONCLUSION

Both the Afro-American and the African mass media operate in context, though they share certain peculiarities. But do they operate professionally? The problem seems to be with the word, profession, as it applies to journalism. Beyond some criteria of technical excellence, professional journalism seems to be a perfect imperfection. Even when one falls back on the criterion of ethical stance, one finds that, ideally, professionalism does not and should not prescribe one system of ethics for all individuals. At the same time, the concept of professionalism demands that professionals make the same kind of independent decisions under similar circumstances. The difficulty here is that, in journalism, the circumstances are rarely similar. And classifying journalism into partisan or advocacy, liberal or objective or several other categories does not seem satisfactory because the categories are usually too general and do not quite address the issue of professionalism.

While guarding against absolute relativism, it seems most advisable to evaluate the "professionalism" of a media system or subsystem in the context of its environment -- its objectives, sources, and clientele -- and, perhaps, most importantly in the context of what other media systems or subsystems are doing.

The current practice among communication researchers seems to link professional underdevelopment inevitably to the level of industrial and economic development and well-being. Thus, most minority media systems like the black press (in the context of American press system) and the third word press systems (in the context of the world community) are called professionally underdeveloped. This is one lash of the holier-than-thou attitude which scourges minorities.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. The Autobiography of W. E. B. DuBois (International Publishers, 1968), Edmund Cronon, Black Moses (University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), and Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (Praeger, 1965) state the basic ideology of the African/ African American relationship but there are innumerable writers of various ideological hues who harp on the same themes.

2. Martin Luther King's life can be said to have marked the flowering of the universalistic ideology for Black Americans. A note must be made, however, that the ideational and identity bonds are, at times, aberrant, frictional, or both.

3. Bruce Westley, "Communication and Change", American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 14, No. 5; 1971 gives a good critical review of this research tradition.

4. Don Dodson and William Hachten, "Communication and Development: African and Afro-American Parallels," Journalism Monographs, No. 28, May, 1973, p. 37.

5. Steven H. Chaffee (ed.), Political Communication: Issues and Strategies for Research (Beverly Hills: Dage Publications, 1975), p. 87.

6. Westley, op. cit., p. 738

7. Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 14.

8. See Donald Devine, The Political Culture of the United States (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1972), especially pp. 15-17, for a discussion of political culture as a determinant of political and social behavior.

9. Chafee, op. cit., p. 102

10. For a good treatment of the agenda-setting hypothesis as it relates to the argument here, see Lee Becker, Maxwell McCombs and Jack McLeod, "The Development of Political Cognitions." In Chaffee, ibid., pp. 21-63.

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12. For an example of the kind of discussion meant, see James Markham, Voices of the Red Giants (Ames, Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1967), pp. 140-167.

13. General descriptions of third world communication systems appear in Lucien Pye (ed.), Communication and Political Development (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 24-123, and in John Merrill, The Imperative of Freedom (N. Y.: Hastings House, 1974), p. 58.

14. Dodson and Hachten, op. cit.

15. Ronald Wolseley, The Black Press, U. S. A. (Ames, Iowa: Iowa Univeristy Press, 1971), p. 292.

16. Ibid, p. 290.

17. J. B. Obatala, "Black Journals Reflect Shift from Racialism," Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts and Issues in the Mass Media (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1977), pp. 279-282.

18. Carlton B. Goodlett, "The Black Press--An Advocate." Speech made under the University of Rhode Island Visiting Scholars Program, Kingston, R.I., April 21, 1976.

19. Ibid. Also Richard Hatcher, "Mass Media and the Black Community," The Black Scholar, September, 1973, pp. 3-9.

20. Behavioral Systems, Inc., Newspaper Readership Dynamics in the Black Community (N. Y.: Amalgamated Publishers Inc., 1975), p. 57. In this survey of 1620 readers (multiple response option) the various media were ranked as being "very important" for general news as follows: television, 74%; metropolitan dailies, 66 %; radio, 50%; black newspapers, 49%; magazines, 31%.

21. The study was done in 1970 as part of my doctoral work at the University of Wisconsin and shows that 93% of 92 black low income urban respondents in Milwaukee prefer to watch black or black-oriented programs as against 7% of non-black programs.

22. Stuart Surlin, "Perceived Need for Minority Ownership of Radio Stations," Journalism Quarterly (Autumn, 1977), p. 587.

23. Behavioral Systems, Inc., op. cit. The survey was conducted by Behavioral Systems, Inc. for Amalgamated Publishers, a consortium of black community newspapers.

24. Colin Legun, "Mass Media--Institutions of African Political Systems." In Olav Stokke (ed.), Reporting Africa (N. Y.: African Publishing Co., 1971), p. 34.

25. There are several books on this topic but Otto Klineberg, Nationalism and Tribalism Among African Students: A Study of Social Identity (The Hague: Mouton, 1969) provides a good empirical study of regional/group attitudes.

26. Stokke, op. cit., p. 40.

27. James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958); Rosalynde Ainslie, The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present (N.Y.: Walker and Co., 1967)

28. Committee on Inter-African Relations, The Press in West Africa (Ibadan, Nigeria: University of Ibadon Extra-mural Studies, 1960), p. 74.

29. For more information about these events, see John Mackintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics; Prelude to the Revolution (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966), Frederick Schwarz, Nigeria: The Tribes, The Nation, or The Race; The Politics of Independence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965)

30. A 1962 survey of three Nigerian cities showed that as many as 45 per cent learn about politics by talking to others, while 37 per cent and only 18 per cent learn from radio and newspapers respectively. See J. P. Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 340.

31. Becker, McCombs and McLeod, op. cit., p. 46.

32. The Report was published on January 1, 1963; the first seven available issues of the selected papers were analyzed.

TABLE A

BLACK NEWSPAPER READERSHIP DEMOGRAPHICS: EDUCATION BY SEX, AGE AND INCOME

		SEX		AGE		INCOME (in thousand $)	
Education	Total	M	F	Below 35	Over 35	Under 10	Over 10
N=	1617 (100)	789 (100)	830 (100)	1013 (100)	581 (100)	772 (100)	617 (100)
Grade School	7	6	7	3	13	10	3
High School	49	47	49	48	49	58	40
College	37	37	37	42	28	27	28
Other	7	7	7	7	10	4	9

Constructed with data provided in Behavioral Systems Inc., NEWSPAPER READERSHIP DYNAMICS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY (New York: Amalgamated Publishers, Inc., 1975) p. 73.

TABLE B

BLACK NEWSPAPER READERSHIP: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP BY SEX, AGE, AND INCOME

		SEX		AGE		INCOME (in thousand $)	
Organization	Total	M	F	Under 35	Over 35	Under 10	Over 10
Membership N=	1617 (100)	78 (100)	830 (100)	1013 (100)	581 (100)	772 (100)	617 (100)
Belong	31	30	28	28	34	19	41
Do not belong	66	67	66	66	59	76	53
Not ascertained	3	3	6	6	7	5	6

Constructed from data in Behavioral Systems Inc., NEWSPAPER READERSHIP DYNAMICS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY (New York: Amalgamated Publishers Inc., 1975) p. 75.

TABLE C

BLACK NEWSPAPER READERSHIP DYNAMICS: REASONS FOR READING BY SEX, AGE, INCOME

Read Black Newspaper		Total	SEX M	SEX F	AGE Under 35	AGE Over 35	INCOME (in thousand $) Under 10	INCOME (in thousand $) Over 10
Because*:	N=	1617 (100)	789 (100)	830 (100)	1013 (100)	581 (100)	772 (100)	617 (100)
Coverage of								
Black Community		74	74	71	75	69	74	71
To be informed (not specific)		3	2	3	2	3	3	2
Other		26	25	26	26	27	31	24

*multiple responses

Constructed from data in Behavioral Systems, Inc., NEWSPAPER READERSHIP DYNAMICS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY (New York: Amalgamated Publishers, Inc., 1975) p. 56.

TABLE I

MEDIA ATTENTION PATTERN: ITEM AND SPACE ALLOCATION BY PAPER AND REGION (IN % FIGURES)

REGION	PAPER									
	Nigerian Citizen		Nigerian Outlook		West African Pilot		Nigerian Express		Total All papers	
	1*	2**	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	2
North	51	64	1	2	1	1	--	--	8	9
West	--	--	13	39	39	71	30	61	24	49
East	--	--	53	42	6	3	8	9	18	16
Lagos/National	5	4	5	2	24	13	14	15	13	9
International	44	32	28	15	30	12	48	15	37	17
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=39)	(N=373)	(N=75)	(N=810)	(N=78)	(N=722)	(N=90)	(N=841)	(N=282)	(N=2736)

*Figures in this column represent percentages of the number of items carried by paper

**Figures in this column represent percentages of column inches of materials carried by paper

TABLE II

MEDIA ATTENTION PATTERN: SPACE ALLOTCATED TO EXPLICITLY POLITICAL ITEMS BY REGION AND PAPER (IN % FIGURES

REGION	PAPER				
	Nigerian Citizen	Nigerian Outlook	West African Pilot	Nigerian Express	Total All papers
North	91	2	--	--	9
West	--	65	91	92	75
East	--	32	--	--	9
Lagos/National	9	1	9	8	7
	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=157)	(N=484)	(N=562)	(N=474)	(N=1677)

TABLE III

MEDIA ATTENTION PATTERN: SPACE ALLOCATED TO COKER COMMISSION ITEMS BY PAPER AND DAY (IN % FIGURES)

DAY	PAPER				
	Nigerian Citizen	Nigerian Outlook	West African Pilot	Nigerian Express	Total All papers
1	--	35	22	29	28
2	--	22	23	24	23
3	--	26	17	12	18
4	--	--	11	7	7
5	--	17	8	5	9
6	--	--	9	12	8
7	--	--	10	10	8
	0	100	100	100	100
	(N=0)	(N=311)	(N=495)	(N=409)	(N=1215)

TABLE IV

PROPORTION OF AVAILABLE SPACE DEVOTED TO EXPLICITLY POLITICAL AND COKER COMMISSION ITEMS BY PAPER
(IN % FIGURES)

	Explicitly Political Items	Coker Commission Items
Nigerian Citizen	61% (N=256)	-- (N=0)
Nigerian Outlook	71% (N=686)	45% (N=686)
West African Pilot	90% (N=625)	79% (N=625)
Nigerian Express	66% (N=715)	57% (N=715)
Total: All papers	74% (N=2282)	53% (N=2282)

TABLE V

MEDIA ATTENTION PATTERN: 1-DAY SPACE ALLOCATION BY SUBJECT AND PAPER (IN % FIGURES)

SUBJECT	PAPER				
	Nigerian Citizen	Nigerian Outlook	West African Pilot	Nigerian Express	Total All papers
Coker Commission	--	49	53	15	35
Other Politics:					
East	--	6	--	--	2
West	--	--	14	35	14
North	90	--	--	--	9
National	--	19	--	--	7
Education	--	16	3	15	11
Crime/Violence	--	7	25	13	13
Accidents	3	--	--	--	1
Adventure/ Entertainment	--	--	--	22	6
Other	--	3	5	--	2
	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=29)	(N=104)	(N=76)	(N=89)	(N=298)